

PEACE ★ NEWS

Christmas

Number



VERA BRITTAIN

writes on page 7:

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“At this Christmas season, when the God whom in spite of themselves the British and Americans still worship came to earth in the shape of a defenceless Child, let us pledge ourselves despite doubt and discouragement to demand the abandonment of the hydrogen bomb, and at last to put our trust in the Grace of God rather than in the infernal machines of terror-driven man.”



MAY 1955

CHRISTMAS "MITTEN TREES" REMEMBER ASIA'S NEED



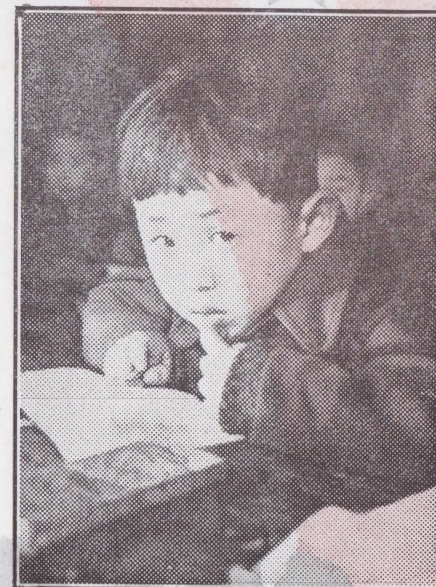
1 These neighbours in Philadelphia are gathered round a "Mitten Tree." Gloves and woolies will have been made or purchased in the weeks before Christmas to decorate the three in a nation-wide project to tie Christmas celebrations in with Quaker relief work overseas. Last Christmas mitten trees made a contribution to the year's total of 637 tons of clothing, cloth, medicine, soap and other supplies which were shipped overseas by the American Friends Service Committee, in addition to 5,300 tons of food. But it was a drop in the ocean of Asia's needs; only the curtailment of the West's arms programme can release the total resources required. Meantime the "Mitten Tree" helps.



2 The Japanese children, celebrating Christmas with a nativity play in a community centre, in Tokio, will have had a helping hand from the American peace movement. This Christmas a packet of educational material on the theme "Days of Discovery" is being used in American schools. Games, songs and recipes, prepared by the American Friends Service Committee, tell how the festivals of St. Nicholas (Dec. 5), Hanukah (Dec. 18), and Christmas are observed in many lands. Gifts for the victims of the Port Said bombing are collected. But America's own minority problems are not neglected, and Gentile children learn about their Jewish neighbours' delight in celebrating Hanukah. The candles of peace are lit at home as well as overseas.

3 "Days of Discovery" will help to bring books and supplies to this Korean refugee lad and his friends (right). American children are being told how the day is celebrated in China, India, Mongolia (where it is referred to as "The First of the White Month") and many other countries. All over China, New Year's Day is a time of friendship and goodwill.

Next year's "Days of Discovery" programme will include the commemoration of Albert Schweitzer's birthday.



The double danger of the Indonesian trouble

ON grounds of simple humanity it is impossible not to feel sorry for the forty to fifty thousand Dutch nationals in Indonesia who are bearing the brunt

By Roy Sherwood

of the "other measures" threatened by the Jakarta Government if the United Nations failed to give the necessary two-thirds majority to the negotiation about Western New Guinea.

These people are not new arrivals in Indonesia, but the remnant of more than double the number of Dutch citizens living there before the transfer of sovereignty; and among them are about 8,000 Eurasians of Netherlands nationality, now under

ally be trusted to act as a considerable counterweight to the President's ill-considered methods, no longer dares to speak in moderation on the issue of New Guinea for fear of losing his influence with the electorate.

There is nothing left at present to put a brake on the adoption of measures based wholly on the possession of local power and its unbridled manifestation, without any regard for the normal processes of law. This is war à outrance short of military means. Impelled by the effect of inflam-

had military guards placed aboard, which means that in the existing "state of emergency" any act of disobedience by their captains or crews will amount to mutiny, punishable with the full severity of martial law.

Within the territory of the Indonesian Republic the Dutch are therefore helpless, and to render this helplessness even more absolute the Indonesian Government has ordered the closing of Consulates and Vice-Consulates. It has also ordered the closing of the Information Department and some other sections of the Netherlands Mission,

WELLINGTON'S extends Best Wishes to all PN readers and urges them to

send a greeting to

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE

(Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.)

Encourage him in his lonely fight for good causes from peace on down.

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Encourage him in his lonely fight for good causes from peace on down. He would be cheered to know people care. Practically alone among Americans in high political office, Senator Morse has:

- Urged an immediate end to nuclear tests and sponsored a Senate Resolution to that effect.
- Refused to support H-bomb programme on moral grounds.
- Voted against giving President power to wage war without prior Congressional action.
- Voted against military alliance with Chiang Kai-shek.
- Castigated radio networks for failing to broadcast Albert Schweitzer's Declaration of Conscience.

In addition, the senior Senator from enlightened Oregon:

- Abandoned the Republican Party when it supported McCarthy.
- Fought the give-away of natural resources to private exploiters.
- Has always worked to protect civil liberties.
- Does not smoke or drink. (His recreation: running a farm.)
- Has the best liberal voting record of any present Senator.

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By Roy Sherwood

of the "other measures" threatened by the Jakarta Government if the United Nations failed to give the necessary two-thirds majority to the negotiation about Western New Guinea.

These people are not new arrivals in Indonesia, but the remnant of more than double the number of Dutch citizens living there before the transfer of sovereignty; and among them are about 8,000 Eurasians of Netherlands nationality, now under threat of expulsion, who know nothing at all about the outside world. These, incidentally, are least likely to be treated gently by the Republican Government, because they could have opted for Indonesian nationality at the time of the sovereignty transfer.

In sum total, there is now a probability of the addition of close on 50,000 human beings to our time's infamous aggregate total of displaced persons.

The fact that the Indonesian Government is now constantly warning its population not to indulge in excesses against the Dutch is welcome news. But in view of the long hating-up of popular feeling about New Guinea it is hard to believe that the occurrence of excesses should not have been foreseen, and equally hard to believe that the warnings will be universally respected in the present temper of the population.

PROPERTY SEIZED

Fortunately, there are no signs so far of any allegations that the attempt on President Sukarno's life was due to Dutch plotting. But if the Associated Press report turns out to be correct that investigation of the grenade fragments has shown that the grenades were "Western-made," with "four-second fuses," anti-Western feeling among President Sukarno's supporters—who constitute the vast majority of Java's population, though not of that of the other islands—will be further intensified, with the Dutch in the foreground whether they come under specific suspicion or not.

And another disturbing factor in the situation is that even the wise Dr. Hatta, who has never taken part in President Sukarno's rabble-rousing activities, and who, as an elder statesman, could normally

be trusted to act as a considerable counterweight to the President's ill-considered methods, no longer dares to speak in moderation on the issue of New Guinea for fear of losing his influence with the electorate.

There is nothing left at present to put a brake on the adoption of measures based wholly on the possession of local power and its unbridled manifestation, without any regard for the normal processes of law. This is war à outrance short of military means. Impelled by the effect of inflammatory speeches by Government representatives, the Indonesian employees of Dutch-owned concerns have seized plants, equipments, buildings and office control in glad anticipation of the Jakarta Government's declared intention of their nationalisation; and the Government has announced that it will consider the question of compensation to the Dutch owners "when the issue of New Guinea has been satisfactorily settled."

CONSULATES CLOSED

The ships of the Dutch KPM shipping line, which carry close on three-quarters of the passenger and goods traffic between the widespread islands of the Republic, have

had military guards placed aboard, which means that in the existing "state of emergency" any act of disobedience by their captains or crews will amount to mutiny, punishable with the full severity of martial law.

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ON PAGE ELEVEN

Greetings to all Conscientious Objectors and their supporters throughout the world from:—



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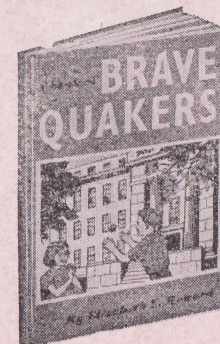
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Elizabeth Fox Howard

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African Congress accused of sabotage

From Basil Delaine

NOVEMBER was a remarkable month in the Federation. First came news of a fusion between the Federal and United Parties. This had been expected for some months, yet when it actually became a fact the public expressed no little surprise. Next came an announcement that tough legislation would be brought into force to combat the so-called "subversive activities" by Africans.

This was followed by the alleged deliberate sabotage of a goods train about five miles outside Lusaka.

The day after the derailment the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council accused the African National Congress of building up hatred against the white man and advocated that if the Crown could make a case against Congress leader, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, based on sedition, it should do so without hesitation.

A motion by Mr. John Gaunt called on the Government to ban the Congress. But although the Congress was condemned on all sides of the House, the motion was defeated. While European feelings are running high, Mr. Nkumbula, denying the Executive of the Congress had anything to do with the derailment, alleged that the Government had a plan to create an atmosphere of unrest in Northern Rhodesia so as to give it a chance of declaring a state of emergency, followed by mass arrests of Congress leaders.

A lone African has been arrested and has pleaded guilty in connection with the "sabotage." He denies membership of the Congress.

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HOUSMANS

Peace Diary

THE ALGERIAN WAR IS MADNESS

ON September 10, a French conscientious objector, Christian Desmazieres, appeared before the Thirteenth Criminal Court in Paris because he had refused to accept military papers of any kind.

Christian Desmazieres, 35 years of age, has already twice been sentenced for the same "offence." The first time he received a suspended sentence of two months' imprisonment; the second time he was again sentenced to two months' imprisonment, which he had to serve.

Christian Desmazieres conducted his own defence. As he explained the reasons which had prompted him to become a conscientious objector, he showed a certain vehemence which aroused great interest in the audience.

Served in World War II

"There are far too many cases of conscientious objection to military service these days," the President of the court began, making himself the mouthpiece of official opinion. He added: "It is indeed much too easy to evade the sacrifice of blood."

"Not as easy as you think, Mr. President. The purpose of my refusal to receive military papers is to show my solidarity with the imprisoned conscientious objectors, some of whom have already been in gaol for eight years."

"It's shirking, all the same," said the President.

"You will realise that it is hardly likely that at my age I should be sent to Algeria. If you still believe that I am acting from cowardice, I shall venture to draw your attention to the fact that I took part in the second world war and was awarded a distinction."

"Then you must have changed your mind. Explain yourself."

"I have been thinking a good deal since the war. My attitude is easily explained. I am a sincere Christian. To me all men are brothers, and I have no reason to kill a German or an Algerian. Besides, the Algerian war is madness and cannot possibly succeed."

"Indeed," protested the President.

"Those are not my words. They were spoken by the Prime Minister Guy Mollet

to take part in another. I assure you that you will change your mind once more."

"You can sentence me as often as you please. But you can bet your last penny that I shan't be the first to give in," Christian Desmazieres replied firmly.

After long deliberations the court arrived at a surprising decision. Desmazieres was sent to a psychiatrist for a report on his mental health.

Our correspondent, Pierre Martin, comments:

If a person's sanity can be doubted because he quotes Guy Mollet, it would be more logical to carry out psychiatric examinations on all our statesmen.

—From a report by Pierre Martin, translated for Peace News by Hilda von Klenze.

Nigeria in ferment

NIGERIA is at present fermenting with four events, writes our Ibadan correspondent.

First there is the crisis at University College, Ibadan. Last year was a most successful year: in chemistry for example, two candidates out of four gained first class honours degrees, a remarkable record. Now protests against restrictions have led students into violent and unconstitutional action, and the college has been closed for the rest of the term as a disciplinary measure.

Collective punishment is always dubious, though it is doubtful if any other action were possible; it is sad to see the use of unconstitutional violence by even a small minority of the country's future leaders. The whole story on both sides is a challenge to pacifist techniques.

Secondly there has been the arrival of the current national hero, the boxer, Hogan (Kid) Bassey. It is a pity that Nigeria's one international champion should belong to a violent pastime, but better a man of the boxing-ring than a man of war. Nigeria has shown herself capable of producing other champions, a sculptor such as Ben Enwonwu, a novelist such as Amos Tutuola.

December 13 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

CHRISTMAS GIFT

THIS is a Christmas Gift issue of Peace News.

Let's start on page one with the drawing which is yet one more instance of the readiness of Punch artist Mays to use his talent for the cause for which Peace News stands.

Then a "whip round" among our very good friends who do the printing of Peace News has defrayed the cost of machining the second colour.

On the inside pages we have further drawings by Denis James, and articles and stories contributed by a number of distinguished writers, all of whom keep a special corner in their hearts and some time in their busy lives for our paper. Enough correspondence "to fill a bath" was waiting for Vera Brittain when she returned from an exhausting whirlwind lecture tour in the USA to her temporary home in Canada, but first things came first, and her contribution to our Christmas number was first on her list of things to be done.

Can you join in with a Christmas gift for the Peace News Fund? Leslie Hale, MP, has sent out a special appeal to a number of our friends, and so with a combined effort we hope to raise

£1497 by Dec. 31

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since November 29, 1957: £192 1s. 8d.

Contribution from USA: £181 7s. 4d.

Total received since January 1, 1957: £2,002 13s. 7d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Anon., Sheffield, 12s. 6d.

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"Indeed," protested the President.

"Those are not my words. They were spoken by the Prime Minister Guy Mollet in an election speech. 'You have been deceived, you and I,' he said."

For a moment the President seemed to be stumped by this reply. But he must have thought that Guy Mollet's inconsistency was no exception, for he said:

"You have changed your mind because you took part in one war and don't want

One of the military's little mistakes

NO windows were left in the chapel and the Cornish village was a shambles after an Army and Civil Defence exercise which included the exploding of 30 lbs. of gun cotton topped with a drum of oil.

"It gave out a perfect mushroom effect which drifted just as we wanted it," a CD observer told the News Chronicle.

"Jolly realistic, a fine show," said other CD workers.

"The people of Carnkie thought differently," reports the News Chronicle.

Official title was "Exercise Samaritan".

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Thirdly there are the celebrations attending the attainment of self-government by the Western Region; those from the other regions will no doubt follow in due course. We are reminded that progress is steady under mature and responsible leadership. As the Bishop of Ibadan said: "The granting of self-government is a challenge to the Africans, for all eyes are now turned to Africa to see what the Africans will make of the power granted them to rule themselves."

Finally, by a happy coincidence, there is the centenary of the Church Missionary Society in Nigeria, the honour paid to Bishop Crowther and other great names of the past.

Refused to join Red Army

HILDEGARD MAYR, a well-known member of the Austrian Section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who will shortly be visiting Northern Ireland to speak at meetings there, took part in this year's Youth Festival in Russia.

In an interesting report of her experiences, published in the magazine "Der Christ in der Welt" (The Christian in the World), she tells of a visit to an old man, a follower of Tolstoy in Moscow, who related to her the story of a young peasant, also a Tolstoyan, who recently refused military service in the Red Army.

The boy was called before his commanding officer and pleaded his case with such firmness and conviction that the general had his passport and other papers given back to him and allowed him to return to the State farm where he works. "This is a unique case," says Hildegard Mayr, "but it bears witness to the power of conscience in a totalitarian State,

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Kennan's Lectures

WE welcome and appreciate Mr. Kennan's Reith Lectures. The fact that we can find numerous, and very important, points upon which we disagree does not detract from our admiration for his independence of mind and capacity for imaginative understanding.

Mr. Kennan is a notable and valuable addition to the ranks of those willing seriously to examine the changed world situation. The number of such men (we count Sir Stephen King-Hall among them) is growing. But it will have to grow much more rapidly if mankind is to have any future.

When Mr. Kennan, in his fourth lecture, having spoken of the "terrible, immediate and almost inconceivable danger" of an all-out war, went on to say that "there are people who still see the escape from this danger in the continued multiplication by us of the destructiveness and speed of delivery of the major atomic weapons," he was pointing to practically all the Western statesmen—and for all we know—in the reverse sense, to all the Eastern bloc statesmen too.

It is this terrifying fact that makes it so important that the growing realisation of the parlous situation of mankind in its present predicament shall increase rapidly enough to shake the statesmen out of their present paralysis, and that people of the type of Kennan, King-Hall and Russell should be added to and should make their voices heard.

The whole truth

THE temptation to make the worst of the other side and unnecessarily to add to suspicion and mistrust is one which any responsible Foreign Secretary should be able to resist. But not so Mr. Dulles. Fear of Communism leads him to constant attacks on the Soviet Union, but for the sake of his own reputation, if for nothing else, he should verify his facts.

In a recent interview used by the BBC in "At Home and Abroad", his charge that the Russians were the first nation to make treaty breaking an accepted method of getting their own way and that the Soviet Union could not be relied on to keep its own promises, was justified by reference to the summit conference at Geneva in 1955. Mr. Dulles claimed that the Russians had agreed that Germany should be reunified by free elections, but had repudiated that



held wedge in Moroccan territory once the transfer to them (already agreed to by Spain) of the northern part of Spanish West Africa has become reality.

The Spaniards, though basing their stand on historical grounds, are fighting because they are afraid that compliance on their part with this particular demand—which is ill-founded in law—would lead to an early further demand by the Moroccans: for Ceuta and other Spanish-held places further north which they are not willing to surrender.

Particularly in view of the generally good relations between Spaniards and

Moroccans, this is a quarrel that might well be settled by negotiation.

Poland last year . . .

THERE is a heartbreaking contrast between the events that are taking place in the Hungarian courts as a consequence of last year's rising and the conduct of the Polish courts after the Poznan rising a few months earlier.

When the men arrested in connection with the Poznan troubles came before the courts there was a remarkable recognition by the Polish judges that what had happened had been the consequence of the growth of

conditions in Poland for which all had to share the responsibility with those who were being put on trial. The Poznan events and the disorders that followed were the consequence of the unbearable pressure laid upon the people generally.

Among those tried there were those who were guilty of horrifying crimes against the political police, which clearly could not be justified in the courts. Even in these cases, however, the judges were inclined to recognise the terrible character of the hatred that had been aroused by the operations of the political police, and to accept that although the actions of those on trial called for condemnation, they could nevertheless be understood and extenuated; and this recognition was reflected in the sentences.

Apart from cases of this kind, the Polish courts acted with a minimum of vindictiveness and a maximum of clemency. Independently of what happened in the courts, hundreds of those who were arrested at the time of the riots were released without having been brought to trial.

The scrupulousness and understanding of the judges (accompanied, one might almost say, by a sense that they themselves were on trial) were so striking that one felt that when the trend should move back towards Stalinism the character of the judiciary would be a solid factor that could hold out hope for Poland.

. . . and now Hungary

IN Hungary today there is no similar sign of hope, and the courts are apparently as much the slavish instruments of the regime as were the courts in Stalinist Russia.

When the workers rose in revolt last November they elected spokesmen to advance their views to the Government that Russia was to impose upon them. These men are now coming up for trial. Nine of them have been tried in secret, and of these one was condemned to death and the others were given long prison sentences. Seven of these took their cases to appeal, and these hearings, again taken in secret, resulted in the confirmation of the death sentence and the changing of the remaining sentences of imprisonment to sentences of death also. The sentences were carried out immediately, and before the public announcement of the result of the appeals. It seems as if this business was very much in the manner of the "shot in the back of the neck" style of Stalinist days.

The trial of five students, all under twenty-five, has also been carried out secretly and apparently there are more secret trials of students' and workers'

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LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

By Stuart Morris



IT seems fashionable to-day to look back in anger, the anger of a generation cheated of its birthright and frustrated in its hopes. But one glance ahead indicates the cause and shows that the backward look should be one of repentance. The world, while accepting the festival of Christmas, has rejected its revolutionary truth. If in the trinity of abiding virtues love is left out, we frustrate hope and deny faith.

Love rules the camp, the court, the grove,
And man below and saints above,
For love is heaven and heaven is love.

But that is what we effectively prevent. Fear is enthroned as a dictator of all important policies. Wars come because some are too frightened to allow others to exist. Politicians dare not risk an understanding lest the other side should deceive them. The H-bomb has become the robot policeman of the atomic age, while many who reject the view that the world must always live under the threat of war see the acceptance of the rule of law as the only alternative. But Christmas outdates such plans and does not pretend that peace can stem from fear. "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ," and in

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The actual fact, as Peace News reported at the time, is that the only agreement reached at Geneva was contained in a directive by the four heads of governments who "agreed that the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security."

Even allowing for the usual ambiguity of such communiqués, Mr. Dulles can find no warrant here for saying that Marshal Bulganin had committed the Soviet Government to holding free elections irrespective of a solution of the main difference whether German unity or European security should come first. That difference was not resolved at Geneva, nor has there been any serious attempt to resolve it since.

It would appear that either Mr. Dulles has a bad memory or that he distorts the facts to suit his argument. Indeed, if he were to tell the whole truth he should not have left out the subsequent offers made by responsible Soviet leaders which, if accepted, would not only have paved the way to German reunification and free elections but also to the liberation of Hungary and other territory in Eastern Europe, on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

The Ifni fighting

THE Ifni strip along the Atlantic coast of Africa, over which Moroccans and Spaniards are now fighting a minor war which can please no one except France, is not in itself worth even a soft-voiced quarrel.

The Moroccans are fighting because Ifni would constitute a still remaining foreign-



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For love is heaven and heaven is love.

But that is what we effectively prevent. Fear is enthroned as a dictator of all important policies. Wars come because some are too frightened to allow others to exist. Politicians dare not risk an understanding lest the other side should deceive them. The H-bomb has become the robot policeman of the atomic age, while many who reject the view that the world must always live under the threat of war see the acceptance of the rule of law as the only alternative. But Christmas outdates such plans and does not pretend that peace can stem from fear. "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ," and in fulfilling the law Christ inaugurated the reign of love.

Love is an attitude of mind, not an emotional reaction limited to the narrow sphere of mutual affection. Christ, who never asks the impossible, did not tell us to like our enemies. It is not possible to like everyone when each individual is so unlike every other. It IS possible to love everyone. Though to love our enemies is the last thing which seems possible or desirable, Christmas proclaims that nothing less will bring the world from fear to faith, from despair to hope, from war to peace.



TRUST is an expression of love. To be prepared to deal only with those in whom we already have confidence is not trust. Trust is the readiness to act with goodwill towards those who may let us down and to persist in that attitude when they do. Not for us to consider whether we can trust the Russians, the Germans, the Americans, or anyone else. We have to ensure that we can trust ourselves always to do the right thing. Not for us to be ever on our guard against being hurt, or to be planning how to defend the good against the evil.

"Glory to man in the highest, for man is the master of things" might seem to be the appropriate song this Christmas as he puts his own satellites into outer space. But there is no glory in war and man remains the servant of his fears, though he brings the heavens into the arena of the race for the ultimate weapon. The latest policy of "shared peril" under which nuclear weapons will be distributed to NATO countries extends the area of fear. The knowledge that the heavens are the flarepath night and day for planes carrying nuclear bombs has turned what is meant to frighten others into an added source of fear for ourselves.



IF we accept Christmas we must renounce the whole idea of defence and not only the method of violence. Christ's earthly life begins in a manger in the defencelessness of the baby whose birth involves the murder of all other local children of his age. It culminates on the cross in the defencelessness of supreme love which spells danger to all his immediate friends.

That is Christ's policy of "shared peril."

The only way out of the vicious circle of fear is to draw the new circle of love which will embrace everybody. Only so can we echo the true Christmas message: "Fear not, for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour who is Christ the Lord. And immediately there was with the angels a heavenly host singing 'Glory to God in the highest: on earth peace, goodwill among men.'"

of them have been tried in secret, and of these one was condemned to death and the others were given long prison sentences. Seven of these took their cases to appeal, and these hearings, again taken in secret, resulted in the confirmation of the death sentence and the changing of the remaining sentences of imprisonment to sentences of death also. The sentences were carried out immediately, and before the public announcement of the result of the appeals. It seems as if this business was very much in the manner of the "shot in the back of the neck" style of Stalinist days.

The trial of five students, all under twenty-five, has also been carried out secretly and apparently there are more secret trials of students' and workers' representatives ahead.

£130,000,000 policy

THE Labour Party has declared for the allocation of one per cent of the total national income to the assistance of the under-developed countries in a "war on want." This would mean setting aside for this purpose something over £130 millions each year.

Mr. Gaitskell first declared for such a policy during his visit to the USA and it has since been embodied in a Labour Party policy declaration.

A paragraph in last week's Observer shows how little impact this tremendously important declaration has so far made. In this paragraph the Observer's political correspondent sets out "the various things that Mr. Gaitskell has promised to do when he gets to No. 10." These are the nationalisation of iron and steel and road transport; reorganisation of the water boards; abolition of conscription; improvement of pay in the armed forces; provision of a new pensions scheme and the increase of old age pensions by a further 10s.; repeal of the Rent Act; municipalisation of housing; provision for national investment in major firms; measures against inflation and the provision of a number of controls.

This completes the list, although the Observer correspondent rightly remarks that "there may be other promises tucked away in the policy statements." The provision of £130 millions to help the poverty-ridden people throughout the world would appear to be one of these.

We hope that those readers of Peace News who are members of the Labour Party will do what they can to see that it is not "tucked away" but that it is given the kind of publicity that will show that it is regarded as a serious issue.

NEW MOVE TO BREAK ARAB-ISRAEL

DEADLOCK

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for
Colonial Freedom

A FORTNIGHT ago Dr. Leon Szur and I published an offer by the Baath Socialists to discuss with Jewish Socialists the tragic differences between Israel and the Arab countries. This offer has aroused great interest in the Middle East.

I am so anxious that the proposed discussions shall take place that I don't propose to enter into the controversy between Israel and her Arab neighbours. It may be useful, however, to relate the background of this offer and to show how both the Arab countries and Israel have been made the pawns of the great Imperial Powers. This is a matter which concerns not only the Middle East, but the whole of Asia and of Africa to which the Middle East is a gateway and, indeed, the peace of the whole world.

The two leaders

A word or two about the two principal figures in the talks which led to the offer.

Dr. Leon Szur is by experience and conviction a real internationalist. He is of Polish origin but spent his early life in South Africa. There he became a socialist, and genuine socialists from South Africa are among the best in the world. He courageously championed the rights of the African, Indian and coloured peoples in the Union, and when he came to England he took a prominent part in the establishment of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism and later of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. Because of his belief both in socialism and inter-racialism it was natural that he should desire to take

advantage of the opportunity to meet Baath socialist leaders at the recent Anti-Colonial Conference in Athens, and to discuss with them the possibility of negotiations with socialists in Israel.

The leading figure from the Arab socialist side was Mr. Michael Aflek, the General Secretary of the Baath Socialist Party. He is an unusual person. He gives the impression of the quiet philosophic thinker. When he addressed the Athens Conference there was at first almost a feeling of embarrassment because he spoke so slowly. I have never heard an orator who paused so long between each word. But as he went on speaking he gripped his audience by his sincerity and by the care which he took to find the exact word to express his meaning. Before long every delegate was engrossed. Dr. Aflek is the theoretician and spiritual leader of his party. He readily responded to Dr. Leon Szur's suggestion that he should discuss the Israel problem with us.

The Baath Socialists have a leading influence in Syria, but because they believe in the close federation of the Arab countries, their membership and organisation extend over the frontiers into Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and even into North Africa. It was from this conception of a Federation of the Middle East countries that Dr. Aflek approached the problem of

Israel. He said frankly that he recognised that the Jewish people have a permanent place in the Middle East. He argued that Jewish socialists should unite with Arab socialists to establish a socialist federation. In such a federation the Jewish people, as well as other peoples, would have autonomy in their internal affairs, but inter-federal subjects and foreign policy and defence would be in the hands of the Federal Government. Dr. Aflek authorised Leon Szur and me to say that Baath Socialists would be prepared to discuss an agreement with Jewish socialists on this broad basis.

Israeli socialists

There was an immediate response from the London representatives of the United Workers Party (MAPAM) of Israel. The suggestion for discussions was welcomed, and I was asked to convene an informal preparatory meeting between the respective parties at which further steps could be considered. Dr. Szur and I have forwarded this response to Dr. Aflek in Damascus and await his reply.

The MAPAM is the minority party among socialists in Israel. It stands for independence from both the Power blocs of Russia and America, for active co-existence and for peace between the Jewish and Arab peoples. On all international issues it reflects the positive neutralism of India and many African colonial territories, and in this fundamental view the Baath Socialists are in agreement. This is a hopeful basis for discussions.

We have also had a letter from the London representative of MAPEI, the majority Party in Israel, indicating that its representatives would also be ready to engage in discussions but urging that they should be unconditional. MAPEI, which dominates the Israel Government, does not have the same affinity as MAPAM towards the neutralist ideas of the Baath Socialists. Fruitful discussions between MAPEI and Baath may therefore be more difficult. Meanwhile, however, eager discussion is taking place both in Israel and the Arab countries, and from this an opinion may develop which will contribute ultimately towards peace.

Cause of the conflict

Both the Jewish and the Arab peoples have historical reasons for a rapprochement. Both suffered persecution from the

December 13, 1957—PEACE NEWS—5

"The inner source of good-will"

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE
From Michael Tippet

THE Christmas message that the angels brought was: Peace on Earth and Goodwill to Men.

Almost every one of us in the West has a childhood's memory of Christmas, when the special emotions that have centred for centuries round the Christmas story touched us in a direct and uncomplicated manner.

And nearly every one of us grows up from innocence to experience into an awareness of how increasingly further away the earthly reality is from the abiding hope.

Personally, I doubt if we realise how very deep-seated this hope is. Often, I think, the contrast between the hope and the present reality drives us into a kind of despair, which has the outward semblance of cynicism, and this cynicism seems to many people the only proper response to the earthly reality.

But rarely, I believe, is it the proper response to the inner reality of the soul, and for that reason it creates a sense of frustration.

However, even if it appears irrational, a frank admission of how abiding this sense of hope really is, just because it is a truer response to our real unconscious inner life, can release in us a positive sense of value and purpose.

I don't know how we can draw one another's attention to this inner source of goodwill, except by the accident of personal contact. I'm not expecting to communicate my own sense of it, even through Peace News. But it is certain that with the time of Christmas, the age-old memories are stirred, shifting for a moment the dead-weight of the outer cynicism.

Some say that ever 'gainst that Season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night through.

This image is quite irrational, whether in Shakespeare's day or our own. But it is absolutely unbreakable.

Santa Claus and the Sputnik

By EMRYS HUGHES MP

"THAT was a near thing," said Santa Claus as the Sputnik whizzed past him in the sky. Then he chased after it and shouted, "What on earth are you doing up here?"

"Sorry I can't stop," said the Sputnik. "I'm in my orbit, and I'm not on earth anyhow, and won't be going back there just yet."

"But how did you get all the way up here? I've never seen anything like you so far up before. Sometimes I've

"Oh, don't ask me that," said the Sputnik. "The Americans say I've only been sent up here because the Russians are interested in war."

"You don't really look very warlike," said Santa.

"No, it isn't really me but the rocket," said the Sputnik. "The rocket that fired me into the sky can send bombs to all parts of the earth."

"If they begin doing that about Christmas-time," said Santa, "I had better keep away from the earth and go somewhere else. It will become too dangerous."

Santa Claus and the Sputnik

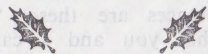
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"Sorry I can't stop," said the Sputnik. "I'm in my orbit, and I'm not on earth anyhow, and won't be going back there just yet."

"But how did you get all the way up here? I've never seen anything like you so far up before. Sometimes I've nearly bumped into a balloon, but that was quite different."

"I was put into a rocket and fired up 200 miles," said the Sputnik. "Nothing like that has ever happened before."



"BUT where did you come from?" asked Santa.

"Sorry I can't tell you that for security reasons," said the Sputnik. "You might tell the Americans. When I saw you coming at first I thought you might be an American spy."

"I don't belong to any country," said Santa. "I visit them all. And they're all quite pleased to see me."

"Well, I'll tell you the country I came from. It's Russia," said the Sputnik.

"I'm going there, too," said Santa.

"But why did they send you up here?"

"It's the Geophysical Year," said the Sputnik.

"What on earth is that?" asked Santa.

"It's a rather long thing to explain, but to put it as simply as I can, it's the year the scientists are studying the sky and the stars."

"That's all very well," said Santa. "But have they made such a good job of the earth that they need to interfere up here? Have they solved the problems of disease and hunger and how to make everything happy for everybody on earth? They spend most of their time trying to discover how to kill each other in war. Why can't they spend their time making a real success of the earth before they start interfering with the stars?"

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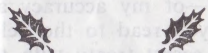
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"Oh don't do that just yet," said the Sputnik. "They need to be cheered up at Christmas, and think of the kids."

"You are quite right," said Santa. "They may have more sense."

"That's the only hope for them," said the Sputnik. "If they don't learn sense soon they'll all get blown up and you'll have to go to the Moon."



"I WAS talking to the Man in the Moon the other day," said Santa, "and he's beginning to get worried because he's heard they are thinking of sending someone with a rocket there."

"Yes," said the Sputnik, "they are sure they can get there, but they are not so sure they can get back. If I were the Man in the Moon I would be getting worried too. Have you seen my younger brother? He's higher up still, with a dog."

"What's the dog done?" asked Santa.

"Nothing," said the Sputnik. "They just sent it up to see how it would get on. The dog's dead now. When the dogs go up and don't die they think they'll be able to get to the Moon."

"I'll have to tell the Man in the Moon that," said Santa. "He'll not want any wars there. I know he is interested in a plan for sending missionaries from other planets to Christianise and civilise the earth. If he doesn't hurry up it will be too late. I can't chase you round the world. So good-bye."

"Good-bye and good luck," said the Sputnik, hurrying on, "and keep out of the way of the rockets."

discussions but also be ready to engage in discussions but urging that they should be unconditional. MAPEI, which dominates the Israel Government, does not have the same affinity as MAPAM towards the neutralist ideas of the Baath Socialists. Fruitful discussions between MAPEI and Baath may therefore be more difficult. Meanwhile, however, eager discussion is taking place both in Israel and the Arab countries, and from this an opinion may develop which will contribute ultimately towards peace.

Cause of the conflict

Both the Jewish and the Arab peoples have historical reasons for a rapprochement. Both suffered persecution from the Christian Governments of Europe and both were the victims of the Turkish Empire. From the first century of the Christian era until World War I, Arabs and Jews lived together in the Middle East in concord. Indeed, as recently as 1919, Faisal, King of Syria and then of Iraq, told Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader, that Arabs looked with sympathy on the Zionist Movement and that differences between Arabs and Jews were exploited by interested parties, although they could easily be dispelled by goodwill.

The truth is that the conflict between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East arose from the policies of the Imperial Powers during the last forty years. It has been the historic role of Imperialism to divide peoples in order to rule.

This was the deliberate policy of Britain during the early years of the occupation of India. It was the policy for a considerable period in the Northern territories of Nigeria to prevent union with the South for independence. Both Arabs and Jews in the Middle East have also been the victims.

This began during World War I, when Britain desired the support of the Arab peoples against Turkey and of the world Jewish population against Hitler. In an exchange of letters with the Arab leaders the British Government indicated that Palestine should become a part of a free and independent Arabia. Almost simultaneously, in the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the Jews were promised a national home in Zion. At first these promises were not held to be irreconcilable because "a national home" did not necessarily imply that Palestine would become an independent Jewish State. A solution might well have

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been found in the creation of a bi-national state as advocated by Judah Magnes, the President of the Hebrew University.

Pawns of the Powers

When, after the war, Palestine became a British Mandate, Whitehall policy deliberately played off the Arabs against the Jews. When Britain gave up its mandate the United Nations partitioned Palestine and created the State of Israel. The United Nations, however, did not enforce this solution, and neither Arabs nor Jews have accepted the frontiers laid down. Arab-Israel tension has persisted ever since with Britain, America and Russia exploiting the antagonisms which imperialist policy had created. They did this in the interests of neither Arab nor Jewish peoples, but of their own manoeuvres in the Cold War.

It is time that the Arab and the Jewish peoples realised that they have been made the pawns of the Great Powers and that they sought an understanding which could enable them all to build their own societies on a federated socialist basis. I do not underestimate the difficulties, which are many and deep; but along these lines the final solution must be found unless the Middle East is to blow itself and the world to pieces. The time has come for discussions to begin.

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£20 TO PEACE NEWS

Twenty pounds has been sent to Peace News and £15 to the headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union as proceeds from a Bazaar organised by the Surrey Area of the Peace Pledge Union.

THE THING

By Reginald Reynolds

"THE principle," explained the Professor, "is not altogether revolutionary. Hackenschmidt demonstrated in the early 'sixties that what we might call a common semantic currency could be evolved from the polyglottic confusion and interpreted electronically in a synthetic brain. Our problem was only the construction of such a brain, capable of reducing all verbal concepts to common thought waves and re-converting from this medium into any known language."

The delegates looked impressed and, so they hoped, intelligent. They were unaware of the fact that the Professor was deliberately simplifying the whole problem for their benefit. Sir Algernon Serly-Belch, who had been nodding gravely, having missed his siesta, pointed a knobby finger at The Thing.

"D'you mean," he said, "that this whatsitname is thinkin' in thirty languages as fast as I can talk?"

The Professor's nursery vocabulary was nearly exhausted. He nodded vaguely and walked over to The Thing, which looked like a telephone exchange, if it resembled anything at all.

"A little demonstration," said the Professor, "is perhaps more valuable than further explanation. Gentlemen, will you please listen now on the ear-phones."

After the necessary pause, he began.

*Mary had a little lamb
Whose fleece was white as snow,
And everywhere that Mary went
The lamb was sure to go.*

He stopped and smiled at the delegates. There were expressions of surprise and some even applauded. The Russian delegate, however, rose to his feet with a gesture of contempt and protested, his words being instantaneously conveyed in all the necessary languages. The English version ran as follows:

"The Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics must protest against the introduction of religious propaganda into a technical discussion. The USSR has always tolerated religion within

Yet it was not a simple matter to obtain agreement as to its use. An American syndicate, the moment the story was released to an astonished world, immediately made an offer so fabulous that only the professional integrity of the Professor prevented The Thing from being exploited by financial wizards. Humanitarians, recognising the essentially human and super-human qualities of The Thing, began to agitate for its release from chattel slavery, its enfranchisement and its protection from abuse by special legislation.

Others, going even further, saw in The Thing a new Messiah; and a religious cult, beginning in Los Angeles, soon had active apostles throughout the Western world. With an easy adaptation of existing practices (characteristic of all the great, virile religions) the new cult soon had its own prayer-book and hymnal, so that worshippers could pray for the hastening of the Thingdom and sing lustily such anthems as "God save the Thing".

The Professor, undeterred by all this, adhered to his original purpose, which was to help the United Nations in its work and ultimately—so he hoped—to bring World Government a stage nearer. When he began, his hopes of The Thing had been relatively modest; but he now saw it as head of an incorruptible and infallible international Civil Service of robots. Apart from the obvious mental superiority of The Thing, when compared with man that is born of

dignantly that they were only trying to be helpful and what about Greenland?

The truth about Greenland was that the quantity of uranium discovered there had made it quite clear that the country ought to be under the protection of the United States. As it was contrary to the best American traditions to appear in the role of imperialists they had quietly encouraged the British, who did not suffer from the same scruples, to annex the country—having naturally first agreed with them privately about the uranium.

A debate in which one side is talking about Afghanistan while the other wants to discuss Greenland is apt to be disconnected. But The Thing showed its usual patience with inferior brains and even a tolerance for the frailties of political morality until the Russian spokesman—always suspicious of that bias which the Kremlin had originally imputed to the robot—was foolish enough to challenge a translation. His secretary, who had been keeping a check on the French version, assured him that five words had been added to his last speech. The Russian delegate rose on a point of order, which The Thing relayed to the assembly.

There was an awkward pause. Nobody knew the correct procedure when the authority of The Thing was called in question. They looked expectantly at the monstrous machine and at last it spoke.

"Were they true?"

The Russian blustered. Five damning words that had given away his whole case, but they were true all right. And if The Thing knew that much, perhaps it could prove its point. He tried to evade the question by returning to the offensive.

"That is not the point," he growled. "Was that a correct translation of what I said?"

The question splintered into a babel of languages and each delegate heard with it the immediate reply:

"It was a correct translation of what is written in the margin of your notes."

Everyone looked at the Russian delegate, who was scarlet with anger and embarrassment. And it was at that point that the American delegate, thinking he could make capital out of the situation, heavily intervened.

My book of the year

By A. J. MUSTE

MY book of the year—the one which introduced me to a significant personality of whom I had been largely ignorant and gave me the biggest kick—was "The Selected Writings of John Jay Chapman,"* edited with an introduction by Jacques Barzun, the dean of the graduate schools at Columbia University.

John Jay Chapman was erratic, an individualist, libertarian and prophet who did his writing in the later years of the 19th century and the early decade of the 20th. He lived so intensely and was so serious about wrongdoing that while at Harvard as a youth in 1886 he plunged his left hand into a coal fire and left it there until it was rendered permanently useless, because he had beaten a fellow student who proved to have been not guilty of the deed which had offended Chapman.

The longest selection in the present collection is a 140-page essay on William Lloyd Garrison, the Abolitionist, writer and organiser. How I and apparently others in the circles in which I move missed this book when it appeared 40 years or so ago I cannot understand. It is a brilliant and penetrating analysis, written at white heat: "To the conservative minds of his time he (Garrison) appeared to be a monster; and he was a monster—a monster of virtue, a monster of love, a monster of power."

This essay on Garrison and several other pieces are startling in their revelation of how the struggles over slavery in the forties and fifties of the last century are being repeated, though in slightly altered forms, in the contemporary struggles over integration.

As already indicated, Chapman was a man who believed one had to take personal responsibility. Thus, on August 16, 1912, he went to Coatesville, Pennsylvania, where a year before a peculiarly horrible lynching of a Negro had taken place, and publicly announced a prayer meeting. It was attended by exactly three persons, besides Chapman himself. One of them was a Miss Martin from New York, a friend of his; another was an "anti-slavery old Negress who lived in Boston but happened to be staying in Coatesville"; the other an unidentified man who was probably spying for the citizens of Coatesville who did not



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"The Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics must protest against the introduction of religious propaganda into a technical discussion. The USSR has always tolerated religion within its borders, but we are well aware that certain warmongers, using the hypocritical mask of Christian meekness, have long acted as the agents of fascism and reaction in the Peoples Democracies."

Before anyone could reply to this, Serly-Belch could be heard on all lines, complaining that it was all gibberish and that he couldn't understand a word. The Professor was about to investigate when there was a unanimous burst of laughter from all the other delegates, including the Russian.

"What was that?" The Professor, puzzled, addressed his question to his young assistant, who was checking the different lines.

"He's got the wrong ear-phones," the young man replied. "He's getting it in Chinese."

"Who said so?" The Professor was already on his way to verify the statement, and the delegates, recovering from their laughter, were already puzzled by the same thought. Then, unmistakably, without a word from anyone in the room, the answer flashed along its many channels.

"I did," said The Thing.

There could be no mistake about it this time. The Thing, thought the Professor's assistant, even had a dam' good dramatic sense in the timing of its comments.



THE Professor had given a fancy name to his invention, but nobody used it and it was soon forgotten. A name is a name but to be The Thing was more than this; it was a title, and unique at that. Just as there can be only one king in a country and only one pope in the Church, so The Thing had to be lonely in its isolated majesty, the greatest product of the human brain, which had designed something mightier than itself.



woman, it had the enormous advantage of belonging to no nation and being impeccably objective—though there were murmurs in certain countries that The Thing, lacking a Marxist training, must *ipso facto* be the tool of Capitalist-imperialism. But a rumour was discreetly spread that The Thing, if not accepted by the United Nations, would be bought by the Pentagon; and the hesitating Governments chose what was, to say the least of it, the lesser evil.

So The Thing was installed, and dwelt among us.



THE end came suddenly. All had gone well for some months, except for the Bonhomme scandal, when the French delegate whispered something to his delectable secretary which was relayed to the entire UN. Nobody worried about that except the French, who were far too embarrassed to make a formal protest and hoped only that the matter would be swiftly forgotten.

But there came a fateful day when, the Governments being more than usually at loggerheads, their delegates had more occasion than usual to distort the truth. The subject on the agenda was not, on the face of it, very important. It had become almost a matter of routine for the two big Power blocs to play at *tu quoque*; and this time a resolution had been tabled condemning the Soviet Government for supplying rebel tribesmen in Afghanistan with long-range missiles. As the tribesmen were unable to use these missiles, the Russians had thoughtfully supplied technicians, officers and even political theorists to explain to the tribes just why they were in revolt. To all of which, of course, the Russians replied in-

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"The Thing has answered you. Do you want further proof?"

The Russian did not answer, but The Thing did. The Thing had developed a sensitive conscience and there was something altogether unfair about the discomfiture of the Russian and the complacent moral superiority of the American.

"Yes," said The Thing, "he shall have further proof—of my accuracy and objectivity. Will you read to the delegates the terms of the secret treaty with the British about the *abuse* of uranium deposits in Greenland?" (It said "abuse" very deliberately.)

The American sat down as though he had been hit on the head.

"I'm waiting," The Thing continued, "but perhaps Sir Algernon Serly-Belch would like to oblige. Or would Monsieur Bonhomme like to explain the French angle and how they were given, in return for their support, a free hand in . . ."

But the rest of the words were drowned in the uproar of panic. Nobody knew who would be next on the list; and few, if any, had consciences clear enough to take any risk. They seized chairs, tables, fire-extinguishers and all the improvised weapons known to the mob, hurling themselves in a lynching fury at the monstrous instrument of truth. . . .



AMONG the wreckage of The Thing the Russian and the American met face to face; and for the first time the Russian smiled at his former opponent. For the first time the American held out his hand to the man from Moscow. Thus Serly-Belch found them. He too looked happy, and years younger. It had all been a bit like those orgies after the

and times of the last century are being repeated, though in slightly altered forms, in the contemporary struggles over integration.

As already indicated, Chapman was a man who believed one had to take personal responsibility. Thus, on August 16, 1912, he went to Coatesville, Pennsylvania, where a year before a peculiarly horrible lynching of a Negro had taken place, and publicly announced a prayer meeting. It was attended by exactly three persons, besides Chapman himself. One of them was a Miss Martin from New York, a friend of his; another was an "anti-slavery old Negress who lived in Boston but happened to be staying in Coatesville"; the other an unidentified man who was probably spying for the citizens of Coatesville who did not respond to the call to prayer.

The five-minute talk Chapman gave on that occasion is reproduced in the present collection. It is a classic. Among its closing sentences are these: "Some one may say that you and I cannot repent because we did not do the act. But we are involved in it. *We are still looking on.* . . . I say that our need is new life, and that books and resolutions will not save us, but only such disposition in our hearts as will enable the new life, love, force, hope, virtue which surround us always to enter into us. This is the discovery that each man must make for himself—the discovery that what he really stands in need of he cannot get for himself, but must wait till God gives it to him. I have felt the impulse to come here today and testify to this truth. This truth touches all ages, and affects every soul in this world."

*Published in the USA by Farrar Straus and Cudahy.

Boat Race. He grabbed the Russian by the arm and shouted above the racket.

"You fellahs feel like a drink?"

Linked arm in arm the three men trampled over the ruins of truth, made friends at last by the camaraderie of a common hatred.



A CHRISTMAS GIFT TO THE WORLD

By Vera Brittain

WHAT is the best Christmas present that a nation could offer to the world in this age of nuclear weapons and the hydrogen bomb?

Throughout this earth the common people are probably in full agreement on what they would like to receive from the Soviet Union. Its most welcome gift would be the statement, clear and unequivocal, of a "live and let live" policy addressed to the uncommitted nations who want only to be left alone by the major powers while they work out their own destiny.

From the United States, Britain and all Europe would acclaim reliable evidence that there are influential groups which do not lose their heads and give way to panic every time the Russian scientists

get a few steps ahead of scientists in America. That such groups do exist and are using every method they can command to reach the public was shown by a full-page displayed advertisement, signed by 48 leading Americans, which appeared in the New York Times—America's largest and most influential newspaper—on November 15.

Lead in disarmament

The signatories included Eleanor Roosevelt, John Hersey, Norman Cousins (editor of the important Saturday Review), Lewis Mumford, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and Clarence Pickett. Banded together in a "National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy," they called on the nations to abandon nuclear tests and bring all nuclear missiles under the control of the United Nations, since "none of the differences separating the governments of the world are as important as the membership of all peoples in the human family."



OF what these thoughtful Americans would like to receive from Britain this Christmas I have no doubt whatever after a four weeks' lecture tour which carried me to areas as widely separated as Iowa and West Virginia. They hope to see Britain—a country which they recognise as exposed to far more danger than themselves, but nowadays less encumbered by great possessions—take a lead in disarmament which would give the two Titanic antagonists in the cold war an obligation to follow, or at least to re-examine what risks they could take themselves.

If we could assume the initiative in abandoning nuclear tests there would be rejoicing in many parts of the United States, for this is a step quite widely demanded even by Americans who would hesitate to deprive themselves of the weapons which, they are assured, represent their sole protection against "the enemy." Smaller but still significant numbers would like to see us give up the hydrogen bomb itself, and thus make a breach in the vicious circle of increasing armaments and progressive fear.

Even though unilateral nuclear disarmament

bases in Britain and our departure from NATO, it is easy to assure all reasonable Americans that this would not signify our capture by Communist propaganda, or our departure from the basic philosophy of Western democracy with its emphasis on the value of the individual.

Such a policy would not, of course, please the Pentagon (the military set-up in Washington which is the equivalent of our Ministry of Defence). But outside official circles, the ordinary American's respect for the Pentagon, with its demoralising inter-Service rivalries, appears to be yearly diminishing. The abandonment by ourselves, first of the tests and then of nuclear weapons, would immeasurably strengthen the sane minority groups in the United States now working against time to counteract the semi-official propaganda imposed upon the bewildered and frightened American public at the news-reel level.

Just before I caught my train from New York to Montreal when my tour ended, an American friend who works in the Press Department of the United Nations took me to see the 50-minutes news-programme at a cinema on Grand Central Station so that I could learn for myself what that propaganda was. Interposed between such innocent pictures as a travel film of Portugal and some Walt Disney cartoons, were three features which made me—a visitor from abroad for whom restraint was obligatory—want to stand up and hiss.

Alarmist propaganda

First we saw the film of an aged Italian dog officially honoured for seventeen years of fidelity to the memory of his dead master. How differently, the commentator emphasised, was this dog treated from dogs in the Soviet Union! Another picture showed a mock air raid, complete with siren sounded at the approach of an unidentified plane immediately assumed to be hostile. Shots of the "raid" depicted people running in all directions, as they never ran in London even with the Nazi bombers directly overhead. Finally came a series presenting the latest American war-planes, "all ready to protect our beloved country against the evil threat of Com-

In the United States today a race is in progress between this nation-wide, low-level, insidious "brain-washing," and the influence of such groups as the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the American Friends Service Committee—with whose ever-growing programme of rational education I have been proud to be recently associated. These groups know well that if ever a "maniac" should release a hydrogen bomb, he or she would be at least as likely to come from the sensitive Americans so constantly submitted to alarmist propaganda, as from the stolid Russians with their limited contacts and domination by totalitarian leaders.



IN Maclean's Magazine for November 23 Professor Hugh MacLennan—the Canadian author of several distinguished novels and a part-time member of the English Department at McGill University—defined the current disease of North America as "schizophrenia," arising from the attempt "to be Christians in one part of our mind and materialists in the other" (a dichotomy, incidentally, not confined to the USA and Canada).

Writing on the theme "We Can't Have Christ and Sputnik Too," he inquires: "Why not let the Russians win the technological race and keep our heads while they do?" and concludes: "If the worst comes to the worst, do we prefer to die like Christians or like terrified hysterics? And I believe finally that if we answer that question properly, wisdom will come with the cessation of our fear, and after wisdom that mysterious defender our ancestors called the Grace of God."

Today we British people, with more to fear but less to lose than the North Americans, have the chance to strengthen the supporters of a Sane Nuclear Policy, the American Friends, and the Canadian Hugh MacLennans—and to show the Soviet Union that we, at any rate, are not afraid to choose peace rather than war. At this Christmas season, when the God whom in spite of themselves the British and Americans still worship, came to earth in the shape of a defenceless Child, let us pledge ourselves despite doubt and discouragement to demand the abandonment of the hydrogen bomb, and at last to put our trust in the Grace of God rather than in the infernal machines

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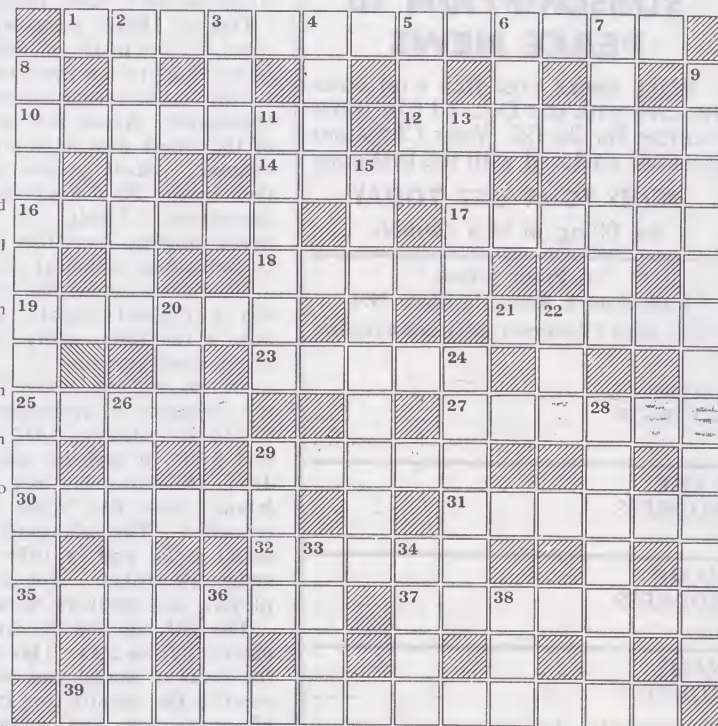
PEACE NEWS CHRISTMAS CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1. Preface on epic describes His title (6, 2, 5).
10. Look for a candidate and find one in me! (7).
12. The crack in each bar (1, 6).
14. In a way this girl has a first-class tan (5).
16. Verbal modifications which time an action (6).
17. Abbreviated costume (6).
18. Simply without a shilling (5).
19. Darken (6).
21. Figure literally made with a spade (5).
23. Polish (5).
25. A lump in the throat for Adam (5).
27. Is this a water-way hat? (6).
29. America persists in disclosing a lark (5).
30. Spain (6).
31. Achieve (6).
32. Animal life (5).
35. Irritated (7).
37. I need AI to find the sweet girl (7).
39. Injunction to Messrs. B. K. Ike and Mac which could make the world dance (3, 3, 4, 3).

DOWN

2. O! Carmen tell me the tale (7).
3. A religieuse (3).
4. Uniform (4).
5. Trick of fate (4).
6. Trespass (3).
7. Engraving with China G's (7).
8. It's a tin undone (Anag.) (6, 7).
9. The centre of attraction provided by rarest chemist (9, 4).
11. As soothing as in an initial example (6).
13. Infant (4).
15. What kind of speech is Mr. Pim up to? (9).
20. Staunch friend (3).
22. Caravanserai (3).
24. Scatter what could be spared (6).
26. Spent or confused in the North West England (7).
28. Where care and aim go west (7).
29. You may see a strange face in this place (4).
33. Mattock (4).
34. Not applicable initially to "defence"? (4).
36. Kindled (3).
38. Close. (3).



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SCIENCE FOR PEACE

Will youth respond?

By JAMES AVERY JOYCE

THE WORK of the International Office for technical, economic, and social progress in the needy parts of the world, receives very little publicity. Here James Avery Joyce, PhD, BSc (Lond), LIB, FRGS, who is a UN Labour Consultant and has served on the staff of the ILO, gives some account of its varied activities.

WHEN two-thirds of the world's population still go to bed hungry every night, when hundreds of millions need shoes and warmth, medicines and nourishment to prevent them from dying years before their time, the dereliction of Western science to reducing the greater part of the earth's surface to a radio-active shambles is worse than a crime. It is a sin against the light.

That light—the light of man's wisdom and reason—is reflected in the simple sentence engraved on the foundation stone of the International Labour Office in Geneva. Not the old way of the long-crumbled Roman Empire: "If you want peace, prepare for war," but the new way of the rising World Community: "If you want peace, prepare for social justice."

This great challenge, not only to the conscience of men, but to their knowledge and skills, has been taken up during the last six years by over 700 picked representatives of the 74 nations which now belong to the International Labour Organisation.

Under this brave banner devoted men and women have gone forth as missionaries of goodwill to the peoples who have needed their learning and their leadership across the wide earth.

Starved of adequate funds, opposed by blind and selfish interests, ignored by the daily Press—which thrives on wars and

murders and scandals—the ILO has nevertheless proved to the hilt that its foundation motto is the only practical way to world peace in the Space Age.

A call to young technicians

"Partners in Progress" is the title of the latest summary report of what the ILO has accomplished during 1957.

"Partners in Peace" would have equally described the magnificent rôle played by these technical assistance experts, working under the ILO programme in country after country on as yet a microscopic budget—which, even so, certain United States' business interests tried to cut last summer, but failed in face of overwhelming opposition from other countries and from the US Labour movement itself.

What a chance for youth is presented by these actual achievements, especially for Western youth trained in scientific and technical skills—to become emissaries of peace for their own countries!

In many parts of the world, communities long steeped in poverty are now adding to their incomes by producing foodstuffs, pottery and textiles and other handicrafts with the guidance of these experts. Skills are being taught to thousands of boys in ILO-aided centres and schools. Training centres for adult workers and instructors are being improved and overhauled. Co-operatives, set up with the assistance of ILO experts, are helping to ease the transition from primitive to modern industrial economy. Output in factories and workshops has everywhere risen, following assistance from ILO productivity teams. Social security, minimum wages, factory inspection, and better conditions have come for the first time to workers in many regions.

Transformation: examples

More than half of the ILO's activities are devoted to helping countries to develop the skills they need.

Take the example of Haiti. This moun-

have just begun training ministry officials and labour inspectors.

Other more complicated ILO training projects have been started in India, Italy, Yugoslavia and other countries where the needs of heavy industries have to be met.

Help for the disabled

What has been done about the world's vast army of disabled?

Turning to two countries, Guatemala and Indonesia, which we are told are under the shadow of advancing Communism, let us look at an example of the peaceful remedy.

Guatemala has set up small workshops where workers partially paralysed or disabled through occupational accidents are now learning a variety of trades from radio repairs to shoemaking. Similarly, Indonesia's rehabilitation centre at Solo, designed as a model for the whole of Asia, is making considerable headway with the help of experts drawn from a number of UN agencies, including the ILO.

There, more than 200 physically handicapped persons are at the moment undergoing training in different skills under the ILO. In the medical section, blind Indonesians are learning a new profession, that of masseurs.

Of course, the ILO is not alone in this great effort. The United Nations itself, the World Health Organisation, the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, and the International Society for the Welfare of the Crippled, are among agencies with which the ILO has co-operated actively in so many of these projects.

A ray of hope

What, then, of the future? The projects sketched here are only a few pioneer examples of the genuine peace-making activities of the ILO. They are not in themselves, of course, the complete answer to the major problems of war and peace. But they fit into the vaster pattern of international efforts to promote happiness and to bring about a more peaceful world.



Physically handicapped children, African and European, are treated at the Mukuwapsi Children's Remedial Exercise Clinic run in association with the St. Faith's interracial farm in Southern Rhodesia. In her drawing, Mrs. Margaret Phear captures the happy spirit of a child who has found that swinging through the air is "just what the doctor ordered." A booklet describing the work of the clinic may be had from P/Bag 41, Rusape, Southern Rhodesia.

No-colour-bar farm in Central Africa

TEN years ago the land at St. Faith's Mission Farm in Southern Rhodesia did not support its local community, and the men of the villages were obliged to go to the towns, there to live in slums while trying to support the families they left behind them. Today the land maintains a co-operative village organisation with 12,000 acres of farm land, three villages and 100 peasant farmers.

St. Faith's Mission Farm exists to develop African peasant farming and industry in the spirit of real partnership. Africans and Europeans work side by side producing grain, vegetables, poultry, pigs, sheep and cattle.

Though production is steadily increasing, St. Faith's faces one major difficulty. Many Europeans and Africans who wish to join have to be turned away because of lack of capital. St. Faith's needs more capital to develop faster.

The farm is asking for loans from any amount from £5 upwards in order to quicken land development, improve livestock, construct dams, irrigation works,

How to gain friends and influence people!

conscience of men, but to their knowledge and skills, has been taken up during the last six years by over 700 picked representatives of the 74 nations which now belong to the International Labour Organisation.

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Transformation : examples

More than half of the ILO's activities are devoted to helping countries to develop the skills they need.

Take the example of Haiti. This mountainous republic is swept by high winds which devastate the countryside, but which, if harnessed, could yield power which Haiti needs. ILO experts taught Haitian mechanics how to construct windmills for irrigation and other purposes.

One of Haiti's principal crops is sugarcane, but the machetes with which the cane is cut had to be imported. ILO experts taught Haitian artisans how to make knives themselves. Again, the correct construction of the wheel was unknown in Haiti's back-country. Most people carried loads on their heads. So the wheelwright's trade was introduced. Finally, to meet long-term needs, training specialists are helping Haiti to reorganise technical education.

Now take a more difficult case. Honduras has a tropical climate, luxurious vegetation, a relatively scanty population, and a single crop economy.

Of its 647,393 active persons, 538,014 are engaged in agriculture and forestry, 37,556 in industry, 6,512 in construction, and 3,104 in quarries and mines. Up to 1954, Honduras did not have a code of labour laws like other Latin American countries. This abnormal situation led to social strife, and in 1954 the country was swept by strikes. Relations between employers and workers were disrupted.

The first step was the drafting of a labour charter by the ILO. This took into account the level of social and economic development in the country, but it assured freedom of association and collective bargaining, provided a legal basis for collective agreements, and guaranteed payment of wages.

It also laid down principles for the regulation of working hours, the conclusion of labour contracts, and the protection of women and children. By 1955 new laws were on the statute book, and, in anticipation of the passing of others, ILO experts

Of course, the ILO is not alone in this great effort. The United Nations itself, the World Health Organisation, the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, and the International Society for the Welfare of the Crippled, are among agencies with which the ILO has co-operated actively in so many of these projects.

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In a world which is still trying to live down yesterday's hatred and misery and fear, the technical and scientific activities of the various UN agencies, about which so little is heard amidst the clamour of the military men, but representing the pooled brains of numerous countries, stand out as a bright ray of hope for the earth's forgotten men.

12,000 acres of farm land, three villages and 100 peasantfarmers.

St. Faith's Mission Farm exists to develop African peasant farming and industry in the spirit of real partnership. Africans and Europeans work side by side producing grain, vegetables, poultry, pigs, sheep and cattle.

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DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1, who will also gratefully acknowledge **YOUR CHRISTMAS GIFT FOR PEACE**
THROUGH TOTAL DISARMAMENT.

YOUNG MAN FROM THE COUNTRY

By Ethel Mannin

WHEN we laughingly said to Hans, as we packed our luggage into the car outside his Tyrolean Gasthaus that autumn, "Why don't you hop in with us and come to England?" we never for a moment expected he would say more than that he wished he could. To our amazement, he replied that as we were his last guests and he was closing down for the winter he would accept.

Inside half an hour he was in the back of the car, a green felt hat perched on the top of his head, a bulging handbag on the seat beside him, his curiously expressionless blue eyes gazing out blandly at the landscape. He was 38, ran the Gasthaus with his widowed mother, and, incredibly, had never been further afield than the small town nine miles from his mountain village. He was good-natured, hard-working, and, truth to tell, a little on the dull side.

He sat bolt upright in the back of the car, his hands resting on his knees, never relaxing, each day of the long trek up through Germany and Belgium to the coast. The various places through which we passed excited neither his curiosity nor his interest. He gazed at everything with his pale eyes and seemed to see nothing. Only once, all the way from the Austrian Tyrol to Ostend, did he make any comment—and then it was on some cheeses in a shop window in Brussels. "Very good cheeses," he observed.

The English scene similarly failed to impress him. All the way up from Dover to London he only once broke into a smile and exclaimed, and then it was to point out some ducks on a pond. "Ducks!" he observed, adding with pride: "At home we have many ducks." But Victoria Station roused him to an astonishing enthusiasm. It was like a little town, he declared, with its shops, its cafés, its newspaper kiosks, and even a cinema. He gazed rapidly about him: it was difficult to get him away.

been. Every day he gave the same answer, "To Victoria Station." It seems he spent the whole day there, watching the trains arrive and depart, eating in the restaurant, having coffees and beers in the buffet, buying newspapers, and once even having his hair cut.

After a week of this we felt something must be done. We pointed out that it was a great waste of time to be in London and spend all the time on Victoria Station, romantic as that boat-train terminus undoubtedly was. We urged our museums upon him, our parks, our great shopping centres. He could not go back to Austria and, when asked about London, tell only of Victoria Station. He looked troubled and promised to go farther afield. He brightened when we explained how he could go to the great Kensington museums from his beloved Victoria.

He made the museums his first concern. When he got back after that expedition and we inquired what he had found of interest, he replied, smiling happily, "I saw some ducks!" Further inquiry elicited the information that they were in glass cases in the Natural History Museum. We suggested that there were many other and more interesting stuffed birds to be seen there. The troubled look shadowed his face again. He insisted: "But most I like the ducks! At home in my village in Austria . . ." Yes, yes, we put in hurriedly, we know, you have many—but *many*—ducks. . . He grinned and nodded, happy again.

It was the same when he visited Kensington Gardens and the parks—Kensington Palace, Peter Pan, Watts's noble equestrian statue, the great trees, the flower borders ablaze with dahlias, crimson and wine and scarlet and dazzling white, yes, yes, he had seen all these, very fine statues, very fine

Marble Arch, to which he replied vaguely, "Perhaps." He looked worried, as always, when he had failed to make us understand. We could not help him, for our German was a lot less good than his English. In Hyde Park, we suggested, attempting to clarify, you saw some very fine ducks—plain English ducks. "Not plain," he cried, "beautiful!" We let it go. His obsession with ducks began to be more tiresome than amusing. His idea of heaven, we thought, was no doubt a duck farm in the middle of Victoria Station. . . .

ABOUT this time he announced that he must buy an English suit—his mother, it seemed, had said that on no account must he omit to do this whilst in London. We offered to accompany him on this venture, but he assured us he could manage for himself. He arrived back in the evening of that day wearing a thick tweed suit which seemed much too big for him all over and in which he looked extremely odd, particularly as with it he still wore the green Tyrolean hat with the shaving-brush at the side, perched squarely on the top of his head. He carried his Austrian clothes made up into a huge paper parcel.

When we suggested that he should have had the shop alter the suit to fit him he said, firmly, "Like this it is best, for when I go in the mountains," and gave an impersonation of a man climbing and clambering on a rock face, bending, straining, reaching in all directions—a most astonishing performance from which we gathered that roominess in any suit he wore was all essential.

He "lived" in the suit, and every morning he set off immediately after breakfast to visit some park or other, always via Victoria Station. We no longer asked him about his day; we began to be neurotic about the foolish happy smile which would spread over his moon of a face as he enunciated the sacred word word, "Ducks. . ." He evidently sensed our lack of sympathy with his obsession, for he took to coming and going in his green paper suit, smiling

We were by then quite beyond being surprised by anything Hans might do or say, and merely inquired how he would manage on the journey.

"By aeroplane it is not difficult," he declared, and then, with his foolish happy grin, "Permit me that I bring upstairs my ducks?"

"Oh, *no*!" I cried, then, because he looked so crestfallen, "I will come down—it is better."

Downstairs in the hall of the block of flats a young woman leaned up against a radiator. A pretty young woman who straightened herself and smiled at the sight of Hans.

He turned to us, beaming, and demanded, "Is she not beautiful, my ducks?"

I stared at him. "Your ducks?"

He was immediately earnest. "Is it not good English? Is it not the correct expression of affection and esteem?" He turned, bewildered, to the girl. "Is it not this you teach me, or do I the mistake make?"

The girl laughed and slipped an arm through his.

"That's all right, ducks," she said, and smiled at us.

"It's confusing for foreigners, I always think, don't you?"

"For the natives, too," I assured her, but the crack was lost on her—just as was my murmured remark to him on Waterloo air terminal, when we saw them off on their honeymoon flight home, a few days later, that he was being doubly unfaithful to Victoria.

Pacifist sidelights

Quakers in Eastern Germany sent a letter to their Government in April this year asking them to influence the Soviet Union to set an example by stopping the tests. They have also had a discussion with the Vice-President of the German Demo-

IN the days that followed we showed him all the regulation sights of London—Big Ben, the Tower, St. Paul's, Buckingham Palace, everything—

impress him. All the way up from Dover to London he only once broke into a smile and exclaimed, and then it was to point out some ducks on a pond. "Ducks!" he observed, adding with pride: "At home we have many ducks." But Victoria Station roused him to an astonishing enthusiasm. It was like a little town, he declared, with its shops, its cafés, its newspaper kiosks, and even a cinema. He gazed rapidly about him: it was difficult to get him away.

IN the days that followed we showed him all the regulation sights of London—Big Ben, the Tower, St. Paul's, Buckingham Palace, everything—and he stared at it all without seeming to see it and made no comment, until we finally got the feeling that he merely bore with us so conscientiously showing him our city, and we decided to leave him to his own devices. His English was quite good enough for him to get about without difficulty, and Londoners, anyhow, are notoriously helpful to foreigners.

He went out after breakfast every morning and never came back till the evening. Naturally, we asked him where he had

formation that they were in glass cases in the Natural History Museum. We suggested that there were many other and more interesting stuffed birds to be seen there. The troubled look shadowed his face again. He insisted: "But most I like the ducks! At home in my village in Austria . . ." Yes, yes, we put in hurriedly, we know, you have many—but *many*—ducks. . . He grinned and nodded, happy again.

It was the same when he visited Kensington Gardens and the parks—Kensington Palace, Peter Pan, Watts's noble equestrian statue, the great trees, the flower borders ablaze with dahlias, crimson and wine and scarlet and dazzling white, yes, yes, he had seen all these, very fine statues, very fine flowers. "But most I like the ducks!" Never had he seen so many different kinds. Apparently he spent whole days beside the Serpentine and in St. James's Park just watching them—and then came home by Victoria Station to put the crown of perfection on the day.

Then one day he told us a confused story about some very beautiful English ducks he had seen in Oxford Street. Not Oxford Street, we suggested; you mean when you go into Hyde Park from Oxford Street, at

said, firmly, "Like this it is best, for when I go in the mountains," and gave an impersonation of a man climbing and clambering on a rock face, bending, straining, reaching in all directions—a most astonishing performance from which we gathered that roominess in any suit he wore was all essential.

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AT long last—it was not so long, really, only three weeks, though it seemed longer—Hans announced that it was time he returned to Austria, his village, and his mother. He seemed extraordinarily happy at the prospect.

"I take back with me to my home the most beautiful English ducks," he informed us one evening.

"For the natives, too?" I assured her, but the crack was lost on her—just as was my murmured remark to him on Waterloo air terminal, when we saw them off on their honeymoon flight home, a few days later, that he was being doubly unfaithful to Victoria.

Pacifist sidelights

Quakers in Eastern Germany sent a letter to their Government in April this year asking them to influence the Soviet Union to set an example by stopping the tests. They have also had a discussion with the Vice-President of the German Democratic Republic regarding conscientious objection and the Government's statement that every East German citizen should be prepared to defend the DDR.

Canadian pacifist organisations have been invited to discuss plans for a national conference of all organisations with pacifist convictions. Further information may be had from Peter S. Faminow, Union of Doukhobors, 313, Crown Bldg., 615, W. Pender St., Vancouver 2, B.C.

I saw old Satan hurrying back to Hell
All cock-a-hoop and shouting lustily
Tidings of triumph. I saw his bosom swell
And his eyes blaze with fire of victory.

He hugged to his black breast a metal sphere
Pilfered from Power's most secret arsenal,
The fatal craftsmanship of human Fear,
The final master-product of man's Fall.

Above his head he held the terror high,
And to his legions cried "At last! We've won!
This is man's self-made transport to the sky!
See what Jehovah's little pets have done!

Behold! So saying, he hurled the thing afar,
Spinning through empty space, and laughed aloud.
It struck a star—and there was no more star—
Only a floating fungus of a cloud.

"O they are clever, clever little creatures!
He gave them freedom to be foes or friends,
But, Hell be thanked, they turned to us as teachers,
And we taught Pride, and Power, and Private Ends.

"And well they learned! Now comes prize-giving day,
When men take their reward—a burning planet!
We'll watch it fuse and drift in dust away,
And He'll regret that ever He began it."

The demon hosts, letting their voices go
In strident cheers and hoots and tiger-calls,
Agog for Armageddon's firework show,
Sat back expectant in their sulphurous stalls.

O clouds unfold!

A PROPHECY

By W. R. Hughes

They watched—for years! The big bang never came!
The infernal plan misfired, infernally!
Satan once more I saw—but not the same
Old Satan, puffed with pride of victory.

His face was haggard, and doubt creased his brow,
Can this be Satan—on the brink of tears?
Shrunken he looked, more ape than seraph now,
As he addressed his murmuring mutineers.

"Friends in misfortune! The worst news is true!
Peace reigns on Earth, and our long war is lost.
Man's broken loose, and all's again to do
Which we thought done, with so much pains and cost.

"I've seen on Earth—what can but set us grieving—
Nations shake hands, forgiving ancient harms;
Statesmen who meet, each other's words believing;
Money poured out for bread, as once for arms."

The devils plied him with a hundred questions:
How came the great disaster? Let him speak!
Whose policy? With many sly suggestions
Which brought an angry flush to his pale cheek.

"We taught men rightly," in low tones he said,
"To fear and hate their neighbours; to invent
Tool after fearful tool, to serve their dread;
To make themselves bond-slaves to armament.

"There followed wars, each bloodier than the last,
Till half-world faced half-world, prepared to fight
With whole-world-wrecking weapons, such as blast
Cities in seconds, nations in a night.

"We went too far; we overplayed our hand;
Death on his doorstep every man had seen,
With finger on the latch. From every land
Clear came the cry, 'Brothers, what fools we've been!'

"Simple and learned, I know not whether taught
By native wit, or, as I think, inspired
By our Great Foe, to a new faith were brought
A new resolve, by deep compassion fired.

"Moved, swayed together, as cornfield in a breeze,
First scores, then millions, made spontaneous vow,
'We will not fight again!' By swift degrees
Will became deed, and 'some time' changed to 'now.'

Men saw new trust in one another's eyes,
And held world festivals of 'Armies' End,'
And when I cried 'Look where new danger lies!'
They laughed and said 'The Devil's dead, my friend!'

Hell heard, but no one spoke. If man breaks free
(They thought) from nets of death and wrong, to rise
Into new life . . . ? For us too . . . ? Could it be . . . ?
Silent they sat, with brooding in their eyes.

DIARY

The impossibility of prophecy in SOCIAL CHANGES

Harold Bing, M.A., reviews

The Poverty of Historicism, by Karl R. Popper. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 16s. **THIS** book by the Professor of Logic and Scientific Method in the University of London is written for the sociologist and the student of scientific method.

Unless you are interested in methodology and can follow the kind of long, involved, abstract process of logical reasoning characteristic of German philosophy, you had better spend your sixteen shillings in some other way.

If, on the other hand, you have the intellectual training and equipment necessary, you may find this book quite absorbing. Professor Popper is attacking "historicism," the view that it is possible to discover in the social field laws similar to those with which we are familiar in the Natural Sciences (e.g., the law of gravity), and that the aim of the social scientist should be to discover such laws and use them to predict the future course of human affairs, just as the astronomer predicts eclipses.

Professor Popper rightly points out that if such prophesy were possible it would, by being made, tend to produce its own realisation or its own negation. If the event prophesied were one generally desired it would have the effect of preparing people's minds for it and encouraging preparations for its accomplishment, while if the reverse were the case, there might be a sustained effort to prevent its realisation. Since social changes arise within society and are not due to impersonal forces from without, the effect of the prophesy itself on the minds of men would alter the situation. A belief in the inevitability of war, for example, may well do much to bring it about.

The first third of the book is devoted to stating very fairly the case for historicism on both what he describes as anti-naturalistic and pro-naturalistic grounds. Many noted modern writers have lent towards historicism, and even believed they had found laws of social progress or social evolution by which they could foretell the future, e.g., Comte, J. S. Mill and Marx in the nineteenth century and Spengler and Toynbee in the twentieth.

The author thinks that such writers are mistaken: that, whereas in physics novelty consists in a new arrangement of known elements (atoms, forces, etc.), and therefore there are no unknown quantities and the

discovery of laws is possible, in the social field we are concerned with human beings who are continually being changed by the influence of events. Therefore, we are constantly being faced by intrinsically new situations and each successive situation is, in some sense, unique, and therefore prophesy becomes impossible.

The search for "laws" in sociology is, therefore, vain, and may be dangerously misleading. Admittedly we can observe trends in human affairs (e.g., population growth), but these are not immutable laws. Such trends may be reversed by changed circumstances.

The conclusion which the pacifist (and others) may draw from this is that while war is not inevitable, neither is peace or progress. History does not repeat itself nor follow a cyclical pattern. We can learn lessons from history, but they cannot be applied automatically to what are different situations, even though they may have certain resemblances to past situations.

On the other hand, our ability to change society is limited, and the idea—so dear to the hearts of revolutionaries of all kinds, whether violent or non-violent—that we can re-make society by imposing on it, whether by democratic or other means, some rationally conceived blue-print is equally erroneous. The very framing of the blue-print changes the situation by its effect on those who frame it and upon those who object to it, whose resistance to the proposed change is thereby intensified.

Professor Popper does not think that we are the helpless victims of powerful "social forces," for these forces are themselves the product of human thought and action, but he does think that we are more likely to achieve success by concentrating upon the removal of specific evils or the establishment of specific "goods" than by any attempt to achieve a comprehensive social revolution, because, after all, we are ourselves a part of the society that we are seeking to change and cannot put ourselves outside it.

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Friday, December 13

FULHAM: Local Tribunal for COs. Fulham Town Hall (opposite Fulham Broadway Underground Station). Morning 10.30 a.m. Afternoon 1.15 p.m. Public admitted.

HIGHBURY, N.5: 7.15 p.m.; Steenoven House, 16 Aberdeen Road. Short Service of Prayer for Peace followed by Public Meeting to discuss the revival of "The Brotherhood of the Way." The only existing Christian-Pacifist-Socialist group on an interdenominational basis. Light refreshments. Speaker: Charles Stimson. All welcome. Convenor: Geoffrey King, The Brotherhood of the Way.

Saturday, December 14

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m.; Victoria Hall. Christmas Fair. Bring and Buy. Home-made teas. PPU.

Saturday-Sunday, December 13 and 14

LONDON: Campbell Hall, Taviston Street (parallel to Endsleigh Street). Week-end Conference: "What the PPU should be doing and how it should be doing it." Conference mainly for Area and Group Officers, but additional visitors welcomed. Residential-hospitality provided for one representative of the Area and each London Group. Please advise Stuart Morris as soon as possible if you are coming.

Monday, December 16

LONDON: Appellate Tribunal for COs. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Morning 10.30 a.m. Afternoon 2.15 p.m. Public admitted.

Wednesday, December 18

LONDON: 1 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1. Lunch hour meeting. Speaker: Miss Janet Lacy, "The World Refugee Problem." Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Thursday, December 19

MANCHESTER: 3: 10.30 a.m.; Blackfriars House, The Parsonage. North of England Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors. Public admitted.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, Concert. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.45 p.m.; Trafalgar Square (around the Christmas tree). International carol singing, conducted by Dr. Paul Steinitz. All welcomed London International Choir.

Sunday, December 22

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Christmas Service. Discourse by Rose Edwards, "Why I believe in Jesus". PPU Religion Commission.

Saturday, January 4

LONDON: 4 p.m.; Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. New Year Party. All welcome. PPU.

Thursday, January 16

MANSFIELD: 7.15 p.m.; Civic Hall, Leeming Street. "Which Way to Peace." Public meeting addressed by Dr. Donald O. Soper, MA. Mansfield Peace Group.

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LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

Christmas Island

By THOMAS B. PITFIELD

*His birthday to an island gave its name,
An island now of terror and ill-fame,
A devil-tryst, a place for doom's rehearsal,
Pin-point of evil, human good's reversal;
Now name for saints and angels to deride,
Where Christ was cursed, and Satan sanctified.*

A feud between Arabs and Jews ended when they "broke bread" together in the border village of Kaff Kassem on Nov. 20.

stating very fairly the case for historicism on both what he describes as anti-naturalistic and pro-naturalistic grounds. Many noted modern writers have lent towards historicism, and even believed they had found laws of social progress or social evolution by which they could foretell the future, e.g., Comte, J. S. Mill and Marx in the nineteenth century and Spengler and Toynbee in the twentieth.

The author thinks that such writers are mistaken: that, whereas in physics novelty consists in a new arrangement of known elements (atoms, forces, etc.), and therefore there are no unknown quantities and the

NOTEBOOK

Leyton's new Freeman

THE Freedom of the Borough of Leyton is to be conferred on Reginald Sorenson, MP, Chairman of the National Peace Council, next March.

He has been an MP for Leyton for nearly 30 years, and it is largely due to his influence that the peace movement has had so many strong supporters in this part of London.

His son Michael has been an active worker for International Voluntary Service and his daughter Moira for the local Peace Pledge Union Group; Reginald Sorenson's other son was killed while serving with the British Friends' Ambulance Unit in China.

This honour carries neither title nor privileges, yet is recognised in every town as a very great mark of esteem and one rarely bestowed. In a civic procession Freemen take a place next to the Mayor and before the MP, Aldermen, Councillors and Justices of the Peace.

Reginald Sorenson will be the ninth on Leyton's roll of Freemen.

Hard to stomach

FRANCIS WILLIAMS, writing in what was once a fine anti-war newspaper, Forward: "Congratulations . . . to the Minister of Defence. The committee he has set up on the service recruiting seems to me first rate. It is particularly encouraging that Hugh Cudlipp, Editorial Director of the Daily Mirror Group, should have been invited to serve on it. This is an imaginative and intelligent appointment."

The Editor

object to it, whose resistance to the proposed change is thereby intensified.

Professor Popper does not think that we are the helpless victims of powerful "social forces," for these forces are themselves the product of human thought and action, but he does think that we are more likely to achieve success by concentrating upon the removal of specific evils or the establishment of specific "goods" than by any attempt to achieve a comprehensive social revolution, because, after all, we are ourselves a part of the society that we are seeking to change and cannot put ourselves outside it.

INDONESIA

● FROM
PAGE TWO

but it appears to be anxious (or so it seems up to the present) to leave the responsibility for severing diplomatic relations to Holland. But during the whole of last week, while anti-Dutch activity was at its height, the Netherlands Chargé d'Affaires was unable to establish contact with a truly responsible representative of the Indonesian Government.

The more obvious of the two dangers inherent in the situation is that the evacuation of many thousands of people from Indonesia is highly unlikely to be accomplished without incidents.

EVACUATION

The Eurasians, whom the Republican Government has placed high on the list for early expulsion, are naturally those who must find it hardest to leave their homeland; and they are also the people least likely to be received gladly elsewhere. The particular Dutch whom the Indonesians want to keep longest, such as doctors, teachers and certain technicians because they cannot be replaced easily and rapidly, will certainly not want to stay to the bitter end, in growing isolation from normal life, surrounded by people whose every approach to them they must grow to suspect.

No estimate of time is yet available for the whole process of evacuation, but it must obviously be lengthy in spite of the help offered by other countries. Even in more normal circumstances there would be a fruitful field for fierce quarrels between those winding up households and prospective buyers of their goods knowing that the seller is under compulsion. Thousands of quarrels, thousands of occasions of official intervention, thousands of opportunities to

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let out overheated animosities on former overlords—such is the picture of the coming evacuation, with the risk of clashes between the two Governments always in the background.

The second danger, intensified by the Dutch attempt to draw NATO into a common front against Indonesia, lies in the strong pro-Communist influence which the complications of the situation are bound to exert on Indonesian thinking. It will be a miracle if Indonesia, whom no Western capitalist country is likely to trust far in view of what she is now doing to the Dutch enterprises in her territory, does not drift in the near future into the Russian-Chinese camp.

None of this need have happened if the question of Western New Guinea had not been treated as an ordinary item in power politics.

TWO YEARS FOR BEING SURE

A FORMER US Navy reservist, William Henry, answered "Sure" when he was asked at College "Do you think Jesus would go into the Army?"

But further contact with members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and talks at Quaker work camps made him less sure.

Recently he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment after deciding to become a conscientious objector and refusing to undertake land work as an alternative to further military service.

Before being sentenced he was given an opportunity of reading to the court a brief statement of his religious objections to military service and to co-operation in the American call-up.

Save this man

AN EDITORIAL

THE fate of Ho Huu-Tuong, the Vietnamese pacifist who has been condemned to death, now lies with President Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem is expected to announce his decision sometime after December 15 according to reports from Saigon.

We urge readers to make every possible effort to save this man's life. Cables and air-letters from individuals or groups asking for clemency may be sent to President Ngo Dinh Diem, Saigon, South Vietnam.

The Manchester Guardian has said: "Ho Huu-Tuong is a good man and a popular man with many whose help is needed by the new nation. President Diem would be wise to grant presidential pardon."

Ho Huu-Tuong, a Buddhist, was imprisoned under the Bao Dai Government for seeking a peaceful solution to the difference separating the various political and religious groups then struggling for ascendancy in his country.

During the anti-colonial struggle against French domination, Ho Huu-Tuong advocated a policy of neutralism when his country became independent. He made contact with the international Third Way movement, and wrote a pamphlet in English, "The Only Good Way".

He has been opposed both to the policies of the Communists and those of President Diem.

Ho-Huu-Tuong tried to act as peacemaker between the Opposition Binh Xuyen forces and the Government, was imprisoned by Binh Xuyen and then for two years by Diem's Government.

Ho Huu-Tuong was charged with treason, but attacks by the government prosecutor on him point to an element of personal vengeance and political hatred against this man of peace.

We urge our readers to act quickly to save this pacifist's life.

18 German scientists meet this week

THE eighteen prominent German scientists who earlier this year issued the "Göttingen manifesto" which called for a

H-BOMBS OVER BRITAIN

"End this panic measure"—64 MPs

No. 1120

UP to Tuesday night a further 33 MPs' names had been added to the initial 31 signatures to a House of Commons motion protesting against planes loaded with H-bombs patrolling the skies above Britain.

The motion, tabled on the initiative of Victor Yates and George Thomas reads:

"That this House, believing that the present patrol of these islands by US aircraft carrying the hydrogen bomb creates a state of emergency which is not warranted by the facts of the international situation, is of the opinion that the safety and well-being of the British people and the peace of the world would be far better assured by the ending of this panic measure."

Victor Yates told Peace News on Monday: "George Thomas and I felt that there should be a clear, simple expression of protest that Britain should be overshadowed by the ugly menace of H-bombs carried in bombing planes above our heads."

Military Panic

"This outward expression of military panic could have disastrous effects upon world civilisation. The ending of this policy is vital if any peace negotiations are to have a chance of success."

The 31 MPs who first put their names to the motion are:

George Craddock, John Rankin, M. K. MacMillan, Emrys Hughes, Goronwyn Roberts, Frank Allaun, Ernest Fernyhough, Fenner Brockway, T. E. Watkins, J. Baird,

At a glance

ON Christmas eve from 6 p.m. onwards Peace News will be on sale on the steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. Father Christmas invites helpers to tea beforehand at 5 p.m., meeting in Lyons teashop opposite the Strand Tube Station (not Corner House). Volunteers are asked to write to George Gregory, care of Peace News office.

The Bishop of Exeter and two well-known local ministers will be speaking at an open-air meeting against H-bombs at Eastgate, Exeter on Saturday, Dec. 21 at 4 p.m. At 3 p.m. a poster parade will leave Friends Meeting House. The Salvation Army band will lead carol singing.

Harold Davies, William Warbey, A. Wedgwood Benn, Konni Zilliacus, A. E. Oram, William Griffiths, S. T. Swinger, W. J. Owen, P. L. E. Shurmer, A. E. Hunter, Sydney Silverman, Julius Silverman, Charles Royle, Maurice Orbach, Cledwyn Hughes, Joyce Butler, Reginald Moss, Ian Mikardo, David Weitzman. Among the latest additions are Edwin Gooch, a member of the Labour Party Executive, and R. J. Mellish of Bermondsey, a seat formerly held by Dr. Alfred Salter.

More favour ban

"If the same determination that goes into rocket research went into Disarmament Committee sessions agreement could soon be reached," Arthur Goss, Chairman of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests declared in a letter in the Manchester Guardian last Friday.

He urged international adherence to the following programme:

1. No country in the world to test any nuclear weapons for two years;
2. All stocks to be disclosed;
- 3: Production to stop and stocks to be progressively reduced to nil; while

By Sybil Morrison

PLASTIC MORALE

... during the first war, as Young Tommy or Old Bill stood under tin helmets in the trenches, the slower shrapnel or sniper's bullet often hit him in the face without killing him... By the end of 1915 the news filtered through that there were... doctors who could "put your face together again." A new confidence swept through the Army as it went over the top. So began the battle of surgery for the soul (emphasis mine). The same problem arose at the time of Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain. Our pilots often came down with appalling burns; they had to return to fight again—their morale depended on the knowledge and confidence that much could be done for their seared bodies."

—Sir Harold Gilles. The Sunday Times. Dec. 8, 1957.

SIR HAROLD GILLES is deservedly world renowned for his extraordinary skill in plastic surgery and facial operations.

The dreadful disfigurements of the wars,

4. Agreement is reached to reduce conventional weapons.

"We believe that if the first step were taken world opinion, in fact, would force the representatives to find a workable formula for agreement, but that, if necessary, Great Britain should set an example by unilateral action," Arthur Goss concluded.

Ninety-nine per cent of the replies to a questionnaire sent by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests to their local committees favour a campaign against the manufacture of the H-bomb with unilateral action by Britain if international agreement is not quickly forthcoming.

The Council moves this week to new offices at 146 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

The New Statesman's "London Diary" last week, commenting favourably on the placing of full-page advertisements in the American newspapers by the American Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

"Cannot something of the same sort be done here?"

The correspondence columns of the same journal have carried a number of letters supporting renunciation of the bomb.

Sir Stephen King-Hall has suggested that "if at a by-election a candidate were returned who made this issue his main plank, the results would be far-reaching."

ordinary flats and houses, working in offices and factories. It is not children like his children, who, playing in the school grounds are suddenly lying dead, or screaming with frightful wounds and burns; it is not his friends buried under tons of bricks and

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18 German scientists meet this week

THE eighteen prominent German scientists who earlier this year issued the "Göttingen manifesto" which called for a renunciation of nuclear weapons by the Federal Republic are to meet in Godesberg this week.

They hope to persuade scientists in other countries, it is reported to join in an international campaign against the manufacture of H-bombs.

The scientists will decide if they can prevent the armament of the West German Army with nuclear weapons and the establishment of missile bases in Germany, reports The Times. They are understood to be deeply disturbed by the proposal to establish missile bases in Western Europe.

"It is always difficult to estimate the effect of such interventions in public affairs," reports The Times Bonn Correspondent, "but there can be little doubt that the Göttingen manifesto had a profound impact in Germany."

"Dr. Adenauer invited the scientists to Bonn and, while at first it seemed that agreement was reached only on generalities, it is now evident that the meeting led to sombre reflection in high places.

"The scientists said that they were concerned not only with keeping the Federal Republic out of a general catastrophe, but to take an initiative against the disaster with which the world was threatened."

The correspondent doubted whether the scientists were satisfied with Dr. Adenauer's assurance that nuclear weapons would not be made in Germany.

There was recently produced in Edinburgh at the "Gateway" (a small repertory theatre under the auspices of the Church of Scotland) a new play by R. J. B. Sellar, entitled "Arise, Sir Hector." The period is that of the late war, and a sympathetic portrayal is given of a leading character, a conscientious objector in contrast with his unscrupulous "go-getting father-in-law," the titular "hero" of the play, and his weak "ne'er-do-well" brother-in-law.

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A Poster parade in North London will assemble at Stoke Newington Town Hall (73 bus to Church Street) on Saturday, Dec. 21 at 2.50 p.m. organised by the local committee against nuclear weapon tests.

Extra copies!

SENDING extra copies of this Christmas number of Peace News to your friends? We have the extra copies available. Then use the coupon below. We can supply a Christmas Greeting card also, if you wish.

And about next week's issue: this will contain another tip-top Christmas article by the well-known American writer (Milton Mayer, "The Day it wasn't Christmas").

Leslie Hale, MP, contributes the third in his present series of articles: "The Bankruptcy of Imperialism", Wilfred Wellock is another contributor.

The following week, our Dec. 27 issue will be despatched to our readers on Tuesday, Peace News will end the year with Fenner Brockway contributing a review of colonialism in 1957. From Moscow Ralph Parker sends an interesting despatch about a belated tribute to Mr. Litvinov.

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—Sir Harold Gilles. The Sunday Times. Dec. 8, 1957.

SIR HAROLD GILLES is deservedly world renowned for his extraordinary skill in plastic surgery and facial operations.

The dreadful disfigurements of the wars, which in the first world war it was anticipated would incarcerate many for the rest of their lives simply because others could not bear to look upon them, were rescued from their bitter, lonely, horror-stricken existence, by the discoveries of plastic surgery of which he was the greatest exponent.

By the time mankind had brought the art of dive-bombing, and obliteration bombing, to its height, plastic surgery had also reached a zenith of ability to heal and restore.

When patriotism calls, when men go forth to die for their country in war, it is seldom remembered that the one thing they are not required to do is to die. It is required of them to kill, and, if wounded, disfigured, mutilated or shocked, to recover and "live to fight another day."

As Sir Harold Gilles points out in his article in the Sunday Times, the morale of wounded people can be painfully, and perhaps permanently shattered. The fact is, though he does not say so, that few who go into danger expect to be the one who will die or be wounded; if it were not for this, morale would be non-existent at the moment of attack.

Obviously, it is not only the morale of those wounded that has to be considered, it is also the morale of those who see the wounding, who hear the shrieks of pain, who try to tend the groaning body with its raw stripped flesh. To shudder from it; to be deathly afraid of it, is not to be a coward, but a very ordinary human being.

War, however, demands that human feelings be discarded. The bombing pilot who flies over cities, and gives the order for releasing the bombs, does not visualise what happens at the moment of explosion.

It is on "the enemy" that the bombs fall; it is not on ordinary people like himself and his wife and children, living in

ordinary flats and houses, working in offices and factories. It is not children like his children, who, playing in the school grounds are suddenly lying dead, or screaming with frightful wounds and burns; it is not his friends buried under tons of bricks and stones, nor his mother or father, too old to run for shelter, blasted to pieces in their doorways or under their staircases.

It is highly doubtful if his "morale" would bear the impact of such a picture flashing upon the screen of his imagination, knowing that he, and he alone, had done that deed.

If "morale" is something that is needed to help him continue in this slaughter, it would not seem to have anything much to do with his "soul" as a human person. If the only point of the "battle of surgery" is that he should be saved from worrying about the possibility of his own mutilation, it would still seem to be singularly little to do with his "soul".

It is not his fault that he accepts the tradition that when a nation engages in war it also engages to discard human feelings, to put military security before any other consideration, and expediency before morals.

Nations have been committed to this method for centuries; two world wars, far from securing freedom, have fastened the chains of conscription upon boys of little more than seventeen years, and it is an ever recurring miracle that there are always some ready to stand against the strong tide of public acceptance of regimentation for war.

The battle for the soul of the man who is to be succoured only that he should be fit to continue to mutilate others, is not the real battle; the real battle cannot be fought with plastic surgery, but only with the moral conviction that will uphold him against the tide. This is the one battle that must go on; the one battle that may save the human race.

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